

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 02446 01 OF 04 042104 Z

61

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03

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R 041708 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7414

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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 BRUSSELS 2446

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SUBJECT: HARMEL SPEECH ON US- EUROPEAN RELATIONS

REF: BRUSSELS 2399

FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF SPEECH BY PIERRE HARMEL,
FORMER BELGIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO BELGO- AMERICAN
ASSOCIATION IN BRUSSELS MAY 3.

AT THIS MOMENT, AND IN THIS FORUM, WHAT SUBJECT WOULD BE
BETTER TO CHOOSE OTHER THAN THAT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPE
AND AMERICA?

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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 02446 01 OF 04 042104 Z

EVERYONE KNOWS THAT IT WOULD NOT BE A GOOD THING TO POSTPONE A DEFINITION OF THE NEW RELATIONS IF BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, WHO ARE GOING TO BE ASSOCIATES-- OR RIVALS-- IN THREE IMMINENT NEGOTIATIONS:

- THE NIXON ROUND OF COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS, IN JAPAN, NEXT SEPTEMBER,
- THE MONETARY NEGOTIATIONS OF THE GROUP OF TWENTY,
- THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE AND THE CONVERSATIONS RELATIVE TO MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE. THEREFORE TO CLARIFY THESE DEBATES, TO GUARANTEE UNDERSTANDING

AMONG ALLIES AND TO ASSURE THE FULLEST COOPERATION NECESSARY, AND EFFORT OF SINCERITY AND OF MUTUAL COMPREHENSION IS CALLED FOR, AND, IF POSSIBLE, A DEFINITION OF THE COMMON OBJECTIVES OF EQUAL PARTNERS.

THE TASK, IF IT IS PROPERLY CIRCUMSCRIBED, IS NEITHER DISHEARTENING NOR IMPOSSIBLE. IT IS WOVEN INTO THE TISSUE OF RELATIONS IN WHICH THE COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS AND THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF ACTION IS ALTOGETHER TOO EVIDENT. TO CARRY IT OUT, WE CAN DRAW UPON A RICH CAPITAL OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS; LET US NOT FORGET, EITHER,

THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE UNITED US IN DANGER AND WHICH HAVE ESTABLISHED FOR YES, DAY AFTER DAY, A EUROPEAN PEACE. IF TODAY WE HAVE PROBLEMS TO RESOLVE BETWEEN US, LET US NEVER FORGET THAT THEY DERIVE FROM THE PEACE. CONSTRUCTED TOGETHER, OVER MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS.

FOR ITS PART, YOUR ORGANIZATION IS ALTOGETHER ADAPTED TO THE TREATMENT OF SUCH A SUBJECT. WITHIN THE BELGO- AMERICAN ASSOCIATION THERE HAS LONG BREATHED THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION. THE AMERICAN PERSONALITIES HERE PRESENT ARE SINCERE FRIENDS OF EUROPE. AS FOR THE BELGIANS WHOM I RECOGNIZE HERE, THEY HAVE ALL PERSONALLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE SHAPING OF A POLICY MADE UP OF FOUR COMPONENTS:

FEW COUNTRIES WILL HAVE FURNISHED IN CONTINUALLY AND OVER A LONG PERIOD, MORE PROOF OF THEIR DEVOTION TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, NOT ONLY ECONOMIC BUT POLITICAL;

FEW COUNTRIES WILL HAVE PROVIDED, IN TIMES OF CRISIS, MORE UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 BRUSSE 02446 01 OF 04 042104 Z

TANGIBLE PROOF OF THE NECESSITY, IN THEIR EYES, OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, AND IN OUR CASE, OF AN INTEGRATED PEACETIME MILITARY ORGANIZATION;

FEW COUNTRIES OF OUR SIZE WHICH HAVE UNDERTAKEN SUCH DETERMINED ACTION IN THE FURTHERANCE OF DETENTE AND, ESPECIALLY OF THE

BALANCED REDUCTION OF ARMAMEN IN EUROPE;
FEW COUNTRIES, FINALLY, WHICH HAVE BEEN FURTHER OUT FRONT IN
INSISTING THAT EUROPE ADOPT AN ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL POLICY
DESIGNED TO ENABLE A TAKE- OFF OF GENUINE GROATH IN THE THRID
WORLD.

I REMIND YOU OF THE COHERENCE AND THE COMPLEMENTARY NATURE
OF THESE FOUR ELEMENTS. WITHOUT THEM, THE PERSONALITY AND
THE SPECIAL VOCATION OF EUROPE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO APPEAR IN
FOCUS, AS AN ESSENTIAL AND POSITIVE ELEMENT OF A NEW WORLD
EQUILIBRIUN, A EUROPE AS AN EQUAL PARTNER OF THE OTHER GREAT
POWERS.

I IS TO THE EXTENT THAT THESE EUROPEAN OBJECTIVES APPEAR
MOST RESOLUTELY WITHIN THE REALITY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
THAT THE UNITED STATES, AS WELL AS WE OURSELVES, ARE LED TO
SEARCH FOR A DEFINITION OF THE NEW RELATIONS WITH THAT EUROPEAN
ENTITY WHICH WAS DEFINED BY ITS OWN ACTS AT THE PARIS SUMMIT.

EVERYONE IS AWARE OF THE IMPERATIVES WHICH ARE ESTABLISHED
BY THE GROWTH OF EUROPE.

A FEW WEEKS AGO, THE NON- GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE IN
AMSTERDAM WAS DEVOTED TO THEM IT WAS REVEALING OF THE CLIMATE
EXISTING ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ALANTIC, AND MAY IDEAS, SOMETIMES
DIFFICULT ONES, WERE FRANKLY AND USEFULLY EXCHANGED. THIS
AFTERNOON AND TOMORROW THE COMMITTEE FOR A UNITED STATES OF
EURIPE,

PRESIDED OVER BY JEAN MONNET, IS DEBATING THE MEANS TO BE
CHOSEN TO INSURE THAT " THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND

THE

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COM-
MUNITY TAKE PLACE IN A DIFFERENT CLIMATE,
ON AN EQUAL BASIS." MANS OTHER CIRCLES, IN THE UNITED STATES AND
IN EUROPE, PURSUE THE SAME OBJECTIVE. BUT IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING
THAT ONE MUST ASSIGN A SPECIAL PLACE AND DEVOTE THE GREATEST
ATTENTION

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PAGE 04 BRUSSE 02446 01 OF 04 042104 Z

TO THE SPEECH OF APRIL 23, DELIVERED ON THE SAME
SUBJECT;, ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT NIXON, BY HIS SPECIAL ADVISER,
MR. HENRY KISSINGER. IS NOT THIS SPEECH A ORIGINAL FOLLOW-

UP TO THE INTENTIONS EXPRESSED LAST DECEMBER, AT THE PARIS
SUNMIT, TO OIEN A FRANK DISCUSSION OF ALL THE PROBLEMS OF
SUBSTANCE AND OF
METHOD WHICH CONCERN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN
NORTH AMERICA AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY?

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 02446 02 OF 04 042102 Z

61
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

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R 041708 Z MAY 73
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7415
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 4 BRUSSELS 2446

IN THIS RESPECT, THE INTEREST IN THE DECLARATION OF MR.
KISSINGER IS FOUR- FOLD:

1) IT DESCRIBES THE POINTS AT ISSUE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND EUROPE 2) IT SETS FORTH THE AMERICAN VIEW ON NEW PROBLEMS
AND SITUATIONS: 3) IT PERMITS A LOOK AT THE AMERICAN VIEWPOINT ON
SEVERAL MATTERS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO EUROPE, AND ON OTHERS
WHICH ARE MORE IN DISPUTE; 4) FINALLY IT PROPOSES OR SKETCHES A
GOAL, A METHOD, AND A CALENDAR FOR THE DEFINITION OF A NEW
EUROPEAN- AMERICAN RAPPORT.

FIRST, THE POINTS AT ISSUE. MR. KISSINGER-- AND MR. BALL AT
AMSTERDAM-- SUMMED THEM UP WELL: IN THE UNITED STATES IT IS
THOUGH THAT EUROPE UNDERESTIMATES ITS DUTIES IN PURSUING TOO
UNILATERALLY AN ECONOMIC POLICY IN ITS OWN INTEREST; THAT EUROPE

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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 02446 02 OF 04 042102 Z

IS NOT BEARING ITS SHARE OF THE BURDEN OF COMMON DEFENSE; THAT DISCUSSION WITH A EUROPE ECONOMICALLY INTEGRATED AND POLITICALLY DIVIDED IS DIFFICULT.

IN EUROPE, ON THE OTHER HAND, NOTES MR. KISSINGER, ONE COMPLAINS THAT THE UNITED STATES WANTS TO DIVIDE EUROPE ECONOMICALLY, OR DESERT EUROPE MILITARILY, OR SHORT- CIRCUIT EUROPE DIPLOMATICALLY. IN SUM, THE MORE SUPERCILIOUS EUROPEANS DO NOT ACCEPT AMERICAN HEGEMONY.

THE SECOND ASPECT OF THE SPEECH: WE ARE NOT ONLY INEXTRICABLY LINKED IN THE DOMAINS OF FINANCE, COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE, AND ATLANTIC DEFENSE; OTHER ISSUES WHICH ARE NOT NOW CONTENTIOUS BUT WHICH COULD BECOME SO REQUIRE JOINT EXAMINATION. MR. KISSINGER MAKES NOTE OF TWO OF THEM: THE GLOBAL DISTRIBUTION OF ENERGY RESOURCES AND, MORE GENERALLY, RELATIONS WITH RAW MATERIAL PRODUCERS; AND THE TRIANGULAR CONCERTAION OF THE UNITED STATES, EUROPE, AND JAPAN WHICH HAS BECOME NECESSARY AN A LARGE NUMBER

OF SUBJECTS. THESE THEMES ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE; THERE ARE OTHERS WHICH ALSO CALL FOR CONCERTATION, THOSE WHICH MONSIEUR ORTOLI HAS WISELY CITED AT THE CONFERENCE AT AMSTERDAM: AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THE CHALLENGES OF AN INDUSTRIAL AND POST- INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.

HOW CAN ONE ALSO AVOID REFERENCE TO THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW WHICH IS NOW TAKING SHAPE, ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF ENERGY AND OF CREDIT; THAT WHICH MR. KISSINGER NOT LONG AGO CALLED " INTERDEPENDENCE FOR SURVIVAL, WHICH HENCEFORTH LINKS THE TWO GREAT POWERS RESPONSIBLE FOR WORLD EQUILIBRIUM"?

THE THIRD ASPECT. MR. KISSINGER'S SPEECH REVEALS AT LEAST TWO POINTS THAT ARE ESPECIALLY IMPORTATN FOR EUROPE.

FIRST, THE ENTIRE PHILOSOPHY OF MR. KISSINGER'S TEXT, LIKE THAT OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE, PLACES THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AT THE CENTER OF THE DIALOGUE WITH THE UNITED STATES-- NOT ONLY THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY TO THE EXTENT THAT IT IS ALREADY INTEGRATED BUT THE COMMUNITY ON THE ROAD TO POLITICAL UNIFICATION.

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PAGE 03 BRUSSE 02446 02 OF 04 042102 Z

SOME PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES MIGHT TURN TO ACCOUNT WHAT MR. BALL CALS THE PAROCHIAL ASPECT OF EUROPEAN POLICY. ONE MIGHT ASK IF THE UNITED STATES WILL PROFIT FROM THIS DICHOTOMY AND PLACE IN QUESTION THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY ITSELF. TO BE SURE, THE NINE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMUNITY ARE NOT THE ONLY INTERLOCUTORS OF THE UNITED STATES. IN THE MILITARY SPHERE, OTHER EUROPEAN

COUNTRIES ARE CONCERNED IN EQUAL MEASURE. IT IS THE SAME FOR DETENTE, MONETARY PROBLEMS, AND THE COMMERCIAL ISSUES OF THE GATT CONFERENCE. BUT THE GENERAL PERSPECTIVE AND THE INDIVISIBLE BASES OF A SOLUTION TO THESE PROBLEMS, A DISCUSSION WITH THE EUROPEAN ENTITY AS NOW ORGANIZED, APPEARS IN MR. KISSINGER'S TEXT AS A MEANS OF STRENGTHENING THE WEST.

OF COURSE ONE POINT IN HE SPEECH IS LESS CLEAR AND IS MORE DEBATABLE FOR FUTURE RELATIONS: THE AFFIRMATION THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS, IN THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DOMAIN, GLOBAL INTERESTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, THAT IS TO SAY, WORLD- WIDE, WHILE EUROPE HAS ONLY TO FACE UP TO REGIONAL INTERESTS. THIS IS CORRECT, IN MY VIEW, ONLY WITH RESPECT TO THE INFLUENCE RESULTING FROM THE POSSESSION OF INTER- CONTINENTAL NUCLEAR POWER. BEYOND THAT, EUROPE HAS ONLY TO SHOW, IN TIS BEHAVIOR AND IN ITS DIALOGUE WITH AMERICA, THAT IS RESPONSIBLITIES AND ITS INTERESTS VIS- A- VIS THE REST OF THE WORLD ARE EQUAL TO THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE FOURTH AND LAST ASPECT WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE IN MR. KISSINGER' S TEXT CONCERNS THE GOAL O BE ATTAINED AND THE METHOD. IT IS HERE THAT ONE RISKS AMBIGUITY.

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 02446 03 OF 04 042059 Z

61
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

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UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 4 BRUSSELS 2446

IT SEEMS TO ME PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION OF
SUBSTITUTING FOR THREE OR FOUR AUTONOMOUS NEGOTIATIONS IN
MONETARY,
TRADE, POLITICAL AND MILITARY FIELDS, FOR WHICH THE FRAMEWORK AND
THE PROCEDURES ARE ALREADY ESTABLISHED WITH PARTNERS WHICH ARE
DIFFERENT IN EACH CASE, A SINGLE NEGOTIATION IN WHICH THE TOTALITY OF
US- EUROPEAN RELATIONS WOULD BE MADE THE OBJECT OF AN IMPOSSIBLE
" PACKAGE DEAL" AND IN WHICH CONCESSIONS IN THE ECONOMIC AREA
WOULD BE COMPENSATED, FOR EXAMPLE, BY MILITARY TRADE- OFFS.

SOME ALSO BELIEVE THAT MR. KISSINGER WAS PROPOSING THE
MODIFICATION OF THE COMMITMENTS OF THE 1947 TREATY OF WASHINGTON (SIC) AND AN EXTENSION OF THE SCOPE OF THE ATLANTIC TREATY.
I DO NOT THINK THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ADD THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, AS THE THREE SAGES PROPOSED IN
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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 02446 03 OF 04 042059 Z

1956, OR AS PRESIDENT KENNEDY SUGGESTED IN 162, BY THE ADDITION
OF AN IMPRTANT CHAPTER OF ECONOMIC, MONETARY, OR COMMERCIAL
DISCUSSION. THIS WOULD BE TO RETURN TO A CONCEPT WHICH SEEMS TO
ME NEITHER THAT OF THE UNITED STATES NOR THAT OF EUROPE. THE
PURPOSES OF THE ALLIANCE, SUCH AS THEY WRE DESCRIBED IN 1967,
IN THE REPORT ON ITS FUTURE, ARE TIED TO DEFENSE, DETENTE,
AND THE BALANCED REDUCTION OF FORCES INEUROPE, THEE MILITARY AND
DIPLOMATIC THEMES, WITH THEIR POLITICAL EXTENSIONS, WHICH
CONSTITUTE A WHOLE IN WHICH EACH PROBLEM BEARS UPON THE OTHERS.
WE FIND OURSELVES TODAY AT A CROSSROAD, AND IT WOULD NOT DO TO
DISTRACT THE ATTENTION OF THE ALLIANCE.

THE GOAL PROPOSED BY MR. KISSINGER REFERES, RATHER, TO THE
ATLANTIC CHARTER OF 1941. THIS IS QUITE ANOTHER THING: SIGNED ON
THE HIGH SEAS BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND WINSTON CHURCHILL, IT
CONTAINS ONLY THE GOALS OF PEACE AND THE GNERAL PRINCIPLES OF
WORLD COOPERATION. IT WAS, MOREVOER, OFFERED AT THE TIME FOR
SIGNATURE TO THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH REFUSED IT. THE GOAL OF THAT
WHICH MR. KISSINGER CALLS, AS IN 1941, AN ATLANTIC CHARTER IS
SCARCELY DIFFERENT: TO ESTABLISH, IN ONE SOLEMN DOCUMENT, GENERAL
PURPOSES AND THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND COOPERATION WHICH
ARE TO GOVERN, IN THE FUTURE, ALL TYPES OF RELATIONS BEWEN THE
UNITED STATES, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE RUOPEAN COMMUNITY ON
THE OTHER. IT WILL SERVE AS A GUIDE TO SPECIFIC NEGOTIATIONS WHICH
ARE ALREADY UNDERWAY AND THOSE

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 02446 04 OF 04 042052 Z

61

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INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03

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UNCLAS SECTION 4 OF 4 BRUSSELS 2446

FINALLY, WHAT WILL BE THE CONTENT OF THE EUROPEAN RESPONSE?

LET US HOPE THAT FRM THE DIALOGUE WITH THE UNITED STATES WILL
EMERGE A DECISION, FIRST OF ALL, TO BASE EUROPEAN- AMERICAN
RELATIONSON EQUALITY AND THE WILLINGNESS TO UNDERSTAND OUR
RECIPROCAL PROBLEMS. THE ROLES OF EUROPE AND THE UNITED
STATES ARE NOT IDENTICAL. WE ARE NOT LOCATED IN THE SAME
PLACE. WE DO NOT HAVE THE SAME PAST. NOR, DOUBTLESS, DO
WE HAVE THE SAME TYPE OF AMBITION. BUT THE TASKS OF EUROPE
VIS- A- VIS THE REST OF THE WORLD ARE NO MORE LIMITED THAN THOSE
OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE TWENTY- FIVE YEARS WHICH STILL SEPARATE US FROM THE
BEGINNING OF THE THRID MILLENIUM OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA IMPOSE UPON
HIGHLY INDUSTRIALIZED PEOPLES WITH A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVINGS,
WHICH ARE ALSO THE COUNTRIES WHICH PRACTICE DEMOCRACY,

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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 02446 04 OF 04 042052 Z

MORE DUTIES THAN THE GRATIFICATION OF THE EGO. THESE DUTIES TO-
WARDS THE REST OF THE WORLD CANNOT BE MET THROUGH INCOHERENCE
AND
CONTRADICTION. INSTEAD OF RIVALRY, WE MUST UNDERTAKE BOTH ACTION
IN COMMON AND ACTION WHICH WILL CALL FOR PERMANENT CONCERTATION

AND AN EQUITABLE DIVISION OF THE BURDENS OF DEVELOPMENT AID.

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